

DE GAULLE AND DEMOCRACY

Test case for Europe

Observer's
Commentary

LAST week Peace News was human enough to hope that the battle of France might be brief, and honest enough to admit that the one practical hope of brevity lay in a quick victory for the British-Americans. This has scandalized some, whose minds seem to inhabit a world of abstraction. Let them consider the real alternatives: (1) deadlock on the

soil of France, after long protracted battles of exhaustion, (2) complete defeat of the invading forces: another Dunkirk, followed by an indefinitely protracted war of blockade and air-bombardment. Either of these would involve far greater suffering than a quick victory for the Allies.

If I am told that pacifists cannot hope for a military victory, I must simply reply that I am a pacifist, and that I do hope for quick victory, and so hoping, hope for the best that I believe to be possible in the world that actually exists, and in which I live.

De Gaulle's background

FRANCE is to suffer devastation once again. Let us consider France. De Gaulle claims to be the leader of French national resistance to Germany. It is already evident that his following in France has been grossly exaggerated. But the point to be borne in mind is that at the time of the French capitulation in June, 1940, de Gaulle's national resistance was quite impracticable. Pétain's assumption of responsibility, supported by an overwhelming vote of the two Chambers, saved something from the wreckage.

The next point to be remembered is that Pétain's government was just as nationalist, and just as anti-German, as de Gaulle. Among its chief political supporters were the most determinedly anti-German movements in France, such as the Action Française of Charles Maurras. They were anti-democratic, too, at least in the sense of being anti-Third Republic. But so was de Gaulle. He entered the last government of the Republic as Under-Secretary for war; but it was the authoritarian government of Reynaud.

Choice in 1940

THE political differences between de Gaulle and Pétain were slight. On the technical-military side they were considerable. Pétain was a distinguished but obsolete soldier of the last war; de Gaulle was the advocate and theorist of mechanized warfare. De Gaulle was more "modern" than Pétain—and less realistic. For modern mechanized warfare depends upon industrial mass-production; and France was the most backward of all comparable countries in that respect. De Gaulle's "national" resistance is based not on the industrial strength of France, but on that of USA and Britain. It is a nationalism without national economic or industrial foundations.

But the crucial difference between them in 1940 was that Pétain had responsibility, while de Gaulle had not. If de Gaulle had had responsibility, he could have done nothing at all, except deliver the whole of France over to the Germans.

UP TO WHAT PRICE?

THE sight of treasure and of life being poured forth as never before to achieve military victory faces us with the question: "Am I giving my resources and myself with similar abandon to achieve a warless and co-operative world?"

Few of us, perhaps, could honestly reply "Yes," yet because as peace-makers our aim and method mean no less than life abundant for all, there is overwhelming need for us to reply "Yes." An undramatic yet necessary part of that reply is the steady support of our own movement.

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MAURICE L. ROWNTREE
Hon. Treasurer.

Advice to the French

THE confusion in the mind of the ordinary Frenchman must be great. On June 6 he received the following radio messages:

From de Gaulle: *For the sons of France, wherever and whoever they be, there is a simple and sacred duty: to fight with all the means at their disposal . . . The orders given by the French government and the French national and local leaders appointed by it must be followed exactly.*

From Pétain: *Officials, civil servants, railway workers, stay at your posts to keep the essential services of the nation going, and carry out your duties . . . France can save herself only by observing the most rigorous discipline. Therefore obey the orders of the Government. Everyone must remain in his place.*

From Eisenhower: *Continue your passive resistance . . . Wait until I give you the signal to rise and strike the enemy. The day will come when I shall need your united strength. Until that day I call on you for the hard task of discipline and restraint.*

It seems significant that Eisenhower's and Pétain's instructions come, in practice, to much the same thing, while de Gaulle's appear likely to provoke that against which Eisenhower warns: "a premature uprising of the Frenchmen."

Who should lead toward peace?

by PERCY REDFERN

WITHOUT peace, Britain cannot continue to live. Germany (or Japan) is no one city, to be deleted like Carthage, and cleared out of the imperial way. Within our common Europe, Germany is bigger than Britain, more populous, more rooted in the ground. For the two countries to continue the bad relations of the last forty years is impossible. Mutual destruction would progress to mutual ruin. If our people is to be free, secure, innocent, happy, the way to concord must be found. But as in 1919, so again today, the war mind proves that inherently it is incapable of making peace.

Written in 1914-15, an influential book of the last war was F. S. Oliver's "Ordeal by Battle." The successful purpose of its author, to win support for national military service, need not occupy us now. What is important is that, representing the professional soldier, the book was frank and honest in exposing and rejecting the modern propaganda for war. "For upwards of a century," said Oliver, British foreign policy had been managed "on a system of hoodwinking the people." A type of politician had been evolved "which does not trust the people but only fears them." At war, the British government concealed facts known everywhere except to the mass of the people; while the press ministered to self-complacency, saying, as to children, "Our hands are weakened because we are so good," whereas, "The Germans fight at an enormous advantage because they are so wicked and unscrupulous." Rarely had we "ever shown any real comprehension of the German point of view," and neither did we face the fact that, "Our real obstacles are the loyalty, the self-sacrifice and the endurance of the German people."

Making War Popular

If the honesty for which this book stood, utterly failed to influence the peace of 1919, it was because of the completeness of the military power at which, for whatever fine reasons, the book aimed. If conscription is to work, war must be made popular.

The easiest course for popularising a violence shocking to our instincts, is the one in use. It consists in first giving the people selected, provocative truths from above, with official authority, and thereby evoking anger and a common feeling for sacrifice. With the elementary feeling for battle and victory added, there follows an emotional selection of the truths which are on our side, through which the official pattern is perpetuated. It becomes orthodox. And the amount of sincerity in the process means that when the fighting has to stop, there long remains a dominating, common, distorted and inflamed mind, wholly incapable of that chastened feeling toward the late enemy which is essential for peace and for the welfare of the conquerors themselves.

Outside the Pattern

For us British people, and for our children, and for the generations yet to come, the hope for lasting peace centres in the moral power of those who stand outside the official pattern. It is not essential that all of them should be more than relatively pacifist; but they saved peace from being destroyed by the South African War. Real peace needs everyone who is responding to the old-new faith in a common humanity, who is capable of moral resistance to a national effort likely to become overwhelmingly destructive of the nation's own basic good. Goodwill and sanity are wanted to the extent of every particle, to balance if not outweigh the madness and blindness of hate. But the fact puts the greater responsibility upon us who have stood for peace throughout.

Who should lead toward peace if not those who have never ceased to believe in it? Whether in demand or not, peace-seeking is the activity most necessary to our people and our times. And, in the tragedy of war, it is our part, for which we are accountable. Required neither to run the country nor to go into retreat because of the feebleness of our numbers, our strength is in our purpose of right human relations and peace, however otherwise ordinary we may be. The responsibility is finally to our own integrity. To live in this war-wearying age with first regard for what is due from us as pacifists, is to be renewed in hope.

Pointless "purge"

THUS we have de Gaulle's nationalism versus the nationalism of Vichy. In spite of all the fairy stories, the one is just as "patriotic" as the other. In point of devotion to what they believe to be the interests of France, there is nothing to choose between them, except that the avowed intention of the Gaullists to exterminate the Vichyists is immoral. It is the indulgence of the desire to make somebody pay for the military defeat of France, which was inevitable.

The pretence that it was not, which is the moral assumption of Gaullism, is nonsense which will be as pernicious in its consequences — if Gaullism is not radically changed — as was Hitler's pretence that the defeat of Germany in 1918 was caused by a stab in the back.

Can democracy live?

THE problem of France—concealed by the irrelevant and fratricidal conflict between Gaullism and Vichy—is how to renew responsible democracy. It is the problem of Europe as a whole. Can democracy live? Or is it faced with the choice between fascism on the one hand and communism on the other? We may believe that here in England we shall grope our democratic way between them; but it is not yet certain that we shall. As Gaullism is sustained by Britain, so is Britain sustained by America. When the props are taken away, the trouble will begin.

France, it is true, had gone further along the path of democratic disintegration than Britain; but that was because the strains on France had been greater. The effort of the

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

C.O. MAY FACE HIS NINTH PROSECUTION

GEORGE P. ELPHICK, of Lewes, faces the possibility of a ninth prosecution for refusing to perform fire-guard duties.

A further direction to do fire-guard duty was served on him at his place of work on Monday. The first duty required under the direction is on Jun. 21. The decision to direct him to fire-guard duties once more was taken by Lewes Borough Council on Wednesday of last week.

George Elphick has consistently refused, on grounds of conscience, to perform fire-guard duty; for this he has been prosecuted eight times—and on five of these occasions has been sent to prison. Refusal to comply with this new direction will render him liable to be prosecuted yet again.

As long ago as October, 1942, the Regional Commissioner advised the Lewes Council that no good purpose would be served by further prosecution, but the Council disregarded this advice. Mr. Herbert Morrison says that the Council has "unfettered discretion" and he cannot interfere.

Nevertheless, no other CO has suffered so many repeated prosecutions for an identical offence, and it seems that only public opinion can prevent a ninth prosecution.

Readers who agree that this victimization must be stopped are urged to send protests to: (a) The Town Clerk, Town Hall, Lewes (asking him to place the protest before the Council); (b) Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, Whitehall, London, S.W.1; (c) Rear-Admiral T. P. H. Beamish, C.B., MP for Lewes, House of Commons, London, S.W.1; and (d) their own local MP, asking him to protest.

George Elphick is a 32-year-old carpenter and a conditionally registered CO. He is local secretary of the Lewes Fellowship of Reconciliation and an active Church worker.

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The democratic revolution

IT is very hard—sometimes, it seems, impossible—to realize ourselves, or to make others realize, how recent in the long history of political society is the experiment which we call Democracy. There was something which was called Democracy in Athens; but it had little resemblance to what men call Democracy today. Athens was a tiny city-State, its economy was based on a slave-population, by modern democratic standards it was a tightly closed aristocracy; and it was very short-lived. Its achievements were marvellous. They have remained a wonder of the world. But after Athens the history of Democracy is a blank until the French Revolution. The constitutional parliamentary government of England from the end of the civil war till the Reform Bill was aristocracy, not democracy.

Roughly speaking, Democracy is now about a hundred years old. And there is no certainty that it will last another fifty. The great wave of authoritarianism which has engulfed Europe, seen in the long perspective, does not appear a strange and novel phenomenon. It is a reversion to the political system under which mankind has lived nearly all its recorded life: a species of absolutism. And, if the United Nations win this war, it will not be a victory for Democracy. First, because Russia is not, in the Western sense, a Democracy at all; and second because victory in the war will of itself supply no answer to the question whether the democratic systems of Britain and USA are capable of survival.

The impact of the question is muffled and postponed by the activity of war. For the purposes of modern war, the Democracies have to become temporary absolutisms. War is the supreme anti-democratic activity. And since modern democracy is the outcome of two generically different causes—the ideology of the “rights of man,” and the development of industrial power-production, which are extremely difficult to reconcile, it may be that war is the only synthesis of which democratic man, as he exists today, is capable. In that case modern democracy is doomed to extinction in recurrent wars unless, or until, democratic man achieves a moral advance, which in fact would amount to a spiritual revolution.

Whether it is more useful to think of the moral advance required as a spiritual revolution, or with Sir Richard Acland to formulate it as a change of habits, is matter for debate. We incline to think that the distinction itself is unfortunate; and that the real problem is to get the would-be defenders of democracy to understand that both are aspects of a single change. The change of habit required is drastic enough to involve a spiritual revolution, while to urge men to a spiritual revolution without indicating how their actual behaviour must be changed is, in the long run, merely to bewilder and disillusion them.

The method of Russian Communism is to compel the change of habit by main force. Democracy is destroyed in the process. The means negates the end. But it is possible that it is the only practicable way of advance for modern mass-democracy. Anyway, to preserve and develop democracy is going to be a very difficult achievement. On this path revolutionary violence is unthinkable. And, we think, the idea of a substitute for revolutionary violence involves a profound contradiction. Nevertheless, the idea, which haunts the minds of pacifists, that they ought to have a “technique” to offer society in the throes of change has within it an image of truth. What the truth really is, we have yet to discover. It may be that, by creating in miniature, in our own society, a pattern of the new democracy, we should find that we were, in actual fact, spreading the revolutionary leaven as individuals in the great society.

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The pacifist outlook - I

THE more closely pacifists come to grips with the problem of erecting a social order the nature of which is peace, the more urgent it becomes to decide what they should attempt to conserve and achieve, and to define rather precisely what they mean by democracy. Are they more inclined to lean towards money and security than towards liberty and the quality of life, as is the tendency in current socialism? Is their conception of State control compatible with the demands of individual liberty?

Ever since 1914 the tendency has been for pacifists to become socialists. The recognition that mass production for private profit, competition for the world's markets backed by official diplomacy, the pursuit of monopoly with the aid of power politics, were all of a piece and led inevitably to war, created a demand for some kind of public control, or socialism, and for the substitution of the motive of service for that of private profit.

★

It must now be frankly admitted that time has worn away much of that early idealism, and that throughout the socialist movement money values and the demand for security have steadily superseded spiritual and human values and the demand for a qualitative life. To-day British socialism is rapidly moving into the capitalist tradition, and taking up a position alongside capitalism, where it seems destined to assist the process of social disintegration which began under the aegis of the latter many years ago. The Labour Party now supports most of the major items in the legislative programme of British Big Business. Pacifists, at any rate, should face the facts. Where, exactly, does Britain stand in world affairs?

The prevailing idea is that democracy, security and peace are to be

Where stands Britain?

guaranteed by the united action of that new triumvirate: Russia, the USA and Britain. Yet, were we to look through the ideological spectacles which these powers are wearing, we should perceive not harmony, but the conditions of deep and endless conflict.

Britain and the United States are under no delusion about Soviet Russia. They know that she will dominate the economic life of Europe, with the possible exception of Scandinavia, for many years to come, and that Russia's influence will be used to break the power and end the domination of British and American Big Business.

Equally important is the fact that after the war the United States will be the dominant power outside Europe. Britain has lost her financial, commercial and trading (including her shipping) supremacy to the USA. Her overseas investments have gone up in smoke. In order to secure the markets and raw materials she desires, she will have to compete with the United States.

★

At the same time Russia will come into the Far Eastern picture, where China, strongly suspicious of British and American intentions, may favour the development of an Eastern economy, with Russia coming in alongside India and Japan. The complete failure of Britain and the USA, to bridge the gulf of race, will complete Russia's triumph and dwarf the Anglo-American world.

China is now bent on large-scale industrialisation, and eventually on

By WILFRED WELLOCK

making her own machinery. For heavy industries are necessary to armament production, on which her mind is now set. Who can describe the future which these changes portend? They are part of the account which the West has to settle with the East for its past follies.

How does Britain propose to fit into this framework? Her chief concern is the attitude of the USA. Will the latter inaugurate an era of World, or of Anglo-American co-operation, or “The American Century?” Who, surveying the American scene can doubt the answer? None too hopeful, British Big Business is preparing to renew the struggle for the capture of world markets. Economic and military necessity has revived the demand for a closely-knit Empire. But will the USA permit even that? Under the necessities of war the USA is penetrating deep into the British Empire.

Sir John Anderson gave the cue to Britain's post-war industrial policy in his Budget speech on April 25, in his reference to the “sombre fact” that “this second world war will complete a revolutionary change in our financial position.” Thus, not only are new exports to be found, but many of those lost in the inter-war years are to be re-captured, chiefly by means of the modernisation of plant, speeding up, and increased specialisation.

How this policy is to succeed in view of the world's greatly increased production potential with up-to-date plant installed everywhere is not explained. It is obvious why Germany is to lose control of her chemical and heavy industries. It is also quite clear that we are to move more rapidly than ever towards a mechanistic society, and at express speed to World War Three.

Has socialism an alternative?

This is the first in a series of three articles which will appear at fortnightly intervals.

LETTERS

In defence of Keynes

AS a student of economics, may I remark that Observer, in your issue of May 26, is grossly unjust to Lord Keynes in regarding him as a servant of “international finance.” No one in my opinion has done more to free the world from subservience to gold or to international finance based on gold, also from bad old ideas as to the value of savings and as to the need for high rates of interest in order to encourage them. He has fought for years and won the battle against the idea that interest rates and the volume of internal cash and credit must necessarily depend upon the amount of gold at the Bank of England. He has convinced most of his fellow economists that savings are a dreadful hindrance and not a help when goods are plentiful—a revolutionary conception much disliked by the fortune hunter. He has demonstrated conclusively that money

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

rates of interest can be managed and kept low, thus reducing the toll levied upon the community by the rentier.

When we contrast the retrenchment policy of 1931 with the recognition in the White Paper on Employment Policy that employment depends upon maintaining the demand for goods and services, we will realize how far economists have moved in recent years—thanks to Lord Keynes—and that same recognition is present in the White Paper on the International Monetary Scheme.

This scheme is important, not for its resemblances to the Gold Standard but for its differences, and it is an attempt to make money, nationally as well as internationally, a means of payment for goods and services and not a means of hoarding of purchasing power. If it fails it will not be the fault of economists, most of whom, like Lord Keynes in his “General Theory,” deplore the stupidity of digging the earth for gold in order to bury it again in vaults, but of individuals and groups who hoard purchasing power and of Governments who are not willing enough or determined enough to resist them. If politicians could move as quickly as economists have moved in recent years we might after all have some chance of a better world.

Where Lord Keynes may be unwise in having faith that human nature will realize where it has been going astray, but it is scarcely up to a pacifist to be cynical where others are hopeful.

K. LACEY

364 Malden Road, Cheam.

Truth and religion

George Lamb's zeal appears to be leading him into an untenable position. If religion does not change, why were there two Dispensations in Hebrew history, one governed by the law of love, the other by the doctrine “an eye for an eye”? The religion of the Hebrews, in which Jesus was reared, surely contained a measure of truth, notwithstanding that the God of the New Dispensation is a very different Deity from the God revealed in the Hexateuch, and different again from the God of the writers of the Psalms. Does George Lamb then say that there are to be no more revelations or discoveries of truth to the end of time? Again, if Christianity constitutes a solid body of whole and complete truth, why is there so much disputation as to its meaning? In every church, for example, there is a marked division of opinion on the issue of war. Is war compatible with Christian teaching? One could mention other vital differences also. Why is this? A Roman Catholic has kindly sent me a pamphlet from which I take these words: “The Church is a living organism and all life manifests itself by growth. Growth is only the bringing to light of what was there already in germ as the great oak is in the acorn. In just the same way the Church explores, as occasion demands, into the content of the ‘deposit of faith’ left by her divine Founder.”

The vital fact in that statement is that as the soul of man grows the “deposit of faith” receives new content. It is in that sense that religion changes. Over a long period of time the registered changes are very considerable, also in some cases they take place more rapidly than in others.

WILFRED WELLOCK

Christian faith

John Cowling (PN, May 5) finds that belief in orthodox Christian teaching conflicts with his intellectual integrity; but some at least of these teachings can be proved by experience. The personality of God, for instance, many people have found to be very real. Personally, my experience of the power and actuality of God enables me to accept the miracles and resurrection, which cannot be proved historically, without feeling the loss of any intellectual integrity.

If John Cowling only knew, as I do, how different the world seems to the Christian—the peace of heart and mind, the freedom from fear and worry, obsessions and repressions, that follow the surrender of oneself to Christ—the certainty that at last one is following the divine path mapped out for him, doing the work for which he was born—he would not let questions of coercion of conscience hold him back. When one becomes a Christian one begins to live.

D. CAYNES
Stoke Cottage, Newton Ferrers, Plymouth.

Ours is known as the Christian religion: nevertheless, when war comes many of those who profess and call themselves Christians seem to fly to the Old Testament for inspiration and spiritual sustenance although they conclude their victory prayers by reciting the formula, “through Jesus Christ our Lord.” They do not explain how the “eye for an eye” outlook can be reconciled with the teachings of Christ Jesus.

T. J. E. WARBURTON

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BOYS AND GIRLS from
PATRICK FIGGIS

Issued by PPU Youth Committee

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HOW PACIFISTS SHARE IN THE SEARCH FOR HEALTH

by KENNETH MELLANBY, under whom many C.O.s have served as "human guinea-pigs"

IN a recent article I gave some details regarding the pacifist volunteers who have served as subjects for various medical experiments at the Sorby Research Institute in Sheffield. I want now to say something about the results of these experiments.

This is a rather difficult article for me to write because I have planned and directed most of these investigations myself and am therefore not in a position to give a completely objective and unbiased opinion of their precise value. I propose therefore to restrict myself to those experiments in which we set out to try to answer specific questions answerable only with the co-operation of volunteer subjects.

SCABIES

IN 1940, when formulating my original programme I stated that "very little definite information exists on the way in which scabies is transmitted." Some workers blamed blankets, straps in buses, seats in public conveyances and public conveniences; others stressed the importance of personal contact, and even went so far as to consider scabies as a venereal disease. These questions could only be answered by direct observations of infection under rigorously controlled conditions.

The volunteers therefore used blankets and underclothing from scabies patients, and shared beds with infested individuals. In all, several hundred such experiments were carried out. The conclusion arrived at was that personal contact was the normal method of transmission, and that sleeping in the same bed as a case of scabies is an almost certain method of contracting the disease. Bedding and other inanimate objects can transmit scabies, but very seldom do so.

When we started this work we did not know how soon the clinical symptoms of the disease developed after infection; most workers imagined that there was no appreciable delay. Examination of the volunteers over long periods showed that scabies normally has an "incubation period" of over a month. This long latent period before the development of symptoms makes it very difficult, under ordinary conditions, to trace the source of infection, and is an important factor in any study of the epidemiology of the disease.

Much time during the scabies work was devoted to improving treatment. The volunteers alone did not serve as subjects for all such tests, although they took part in the preliminary trials of new medicaments, and observations made on them throughout the experiments allowed us to assess the value of various treatments in a scientific manner.

The general result of the whole scabies investigation is that we can now state categorically that scabies need no longer be a serious medical problem. It is still an important administrative problem, the difficulty being in establishing confidence in potential patients, so that they will all readily seek treatment when required and not conceal the disease until serious secondary complications require attention.

NATIONAL BREAD

THERE are many advantages in wholemeal bread as compared with white bread, but if dairy products containing vitamin D and calcium-containing foods are scarce, as is likely in war-time, it is possible for the wholemeal bread to be a danger, for it contains substances which may prevent the assimilation and use of calcium. To find exactly how the national wheatmeal flour reacted on calcium metabolism, six of the volunteers lived for many months on a controlled diet containing a high proportion of bread.

Samples of all food taken were subjected to detailed analysis. This sampling was a tedious process, for it necessitated weighing accurately everything that was eaten, so that the food was stone cold before it could be tackled. In addition all excrement was preserved and analysed. This

experiment, which was largely planned and executed by my colleague, Dr. H. A. Krebs, made it possible to estimate, accurately the amount of calcium required on a diet of this kind, and gave information which made it possible to suggest how much should be added to National Wheatmeal bread. We were also able to determine what proportion of this type of flour was in fact digested and how much passed through the body unassimilated.

A great deal of other dietetic work has been carried out, particularly on vitamin deficiency. This has included one experiment in which the world record has been set up for the length of time during which a restricted diet has been endured. These experiments are being carried out under a Committee of the Medical Research Council, and as yet no details of the results are available for publication, though relief organizations such as UNRRA are kept fully posted as to the current results.

Those shipwrecked in tropical seas or lost in the desert, suffer acutely from shortage of water. Many other scientists have been investigating these problems, and we were asked to carry out a series of experiments to find the minimum water requirements to maintain normal health. This necessitated a four-day period with no water at all and further experiments on a very limited intake. We eventually found that very little physiological value was obtained from small quantities of fluid and that at least two pints a day were needed to maintain water balance. This information has been of use to

the scientific workers who advise the shipping authorities on the provision of water and other substances in life boats.

CONCLUSIONS

THIS very briefly is a summary of our findings. Further work is still in progress. It must always be remembered that scientific research is a complicated process, and that dramatic results can seldom be expected to emerge from any particular experiment. Progress comes from the inter-action of the findings of numerous workers, probably working in many laboratories in different countries.

Some of our results have been immediately applicable to human affairs; here ours has been the final experiment in a series begun elsewhere, and made possible by the unique circumstance of being able to carry out the experiments on human volunteers. Other results may now appear less important, but they fill gaps in scientific knowledge and so will at some future date also serve in a practical way.

A scientist should be essentially a seeker after knowledge, and must not be solely concerned with immediate practical "dividends," for ultimately it is the "academic" investigation which has the far-reaching importance long after short-term "practical" experiments have been forgotten. We have always tried to combine short-term and long-term research, so that the volunteers can see some practical results of their service and at the same time make a more fundamental contribution to future progress.

The problem of pacifism is the problem of creation

CONRAD VOSS - BARK

THE sociological studies referred to in this article were carried out by a former Fleet Street journalist and research worker, in two Civil Defence depots, one in London and the other in the Provinces.

FOR the past four years I have studied, through the observation of groups of between 30-100 men, the so-called "average" working man. One of the difficulties of field-sociology is the complexity of phenomena, the apparent unrelatedness between observed data. It was with some surprise, therefore, that on looking through my notes one day I found there was an underlying theme, a definite relatedness, between the events and conversations recorded. That clue which gave identity to my records I can only summarise the word—unreality.

The activity of the men was not real. Now what is psychologically real is that which is represented by spontaneous, integrated thought or activity of the person. It is not imposed or socially conditioned; it arises from the attempt to relate the self to the society. An example of what I mean is to be found in the man, who, having read in the newspaper a paragraph to the effect that Gandhi is in prison, believes that there must be something wrong with Gandhi. He perpetuates a variation of what has been imposed on his mind by external authority. He is incapable of believing that there might be something wrong with prison and right with Gandhi because society has patterned a certain way of thinking on him. His thought arises from the impact of society. It is "conditioned" thought, being neither original nor critical, and somewhere in the region of 80 to 90 per cent. of the conversations reflected "conditioned" thought.

Concerning behaviour the most interesting observations were taken at such times as Christmas and at dances. Drink was regarded as essential. It appeared to be utilised as a method of escape, together with

noise, rhythm and movement, from the intolerable dullness of existence—or as I should term it, the unreality of existence. It was, of course, merely the exchange of one unreality for another but the change seemed to have a soothing psychological effect. My personal opinion here is that the desire for escape from the objective world was a perversion of the desire for spirituality. Drink had become a substitute for the Holy Ghost and the world it created was momentarily free, fanciful and delightful.

On other occasions the fundamental link recorded between most of the behaviour patterns was fear, fear of public opinion (the collective attitude), of the employer and of the future, and particularly fear of authority. Drink and festive occasions seemed to lessen this fear and the reaction was aggressiveness or sentimentality. The attitude to religion appeared to be based on emotionalism which seemed to be correlated with fear of the future. Some interesting acts of an anti-Christian nature were recorded immediately before or after men had obtained time off from duty as a special concession to go to church. There seemed to be little ability to relate the act of living with the act of worship.

The definite impression was that the majority of the men were acting a part and were unconscious of this fact. But their behaviour showed considerable subconscious stress. Acting in accordance with environmental factors and social conditioning seemed to create subconscious resentment, apathy and fear. From childhood they have been forced to accept the collective attitude imposed on them by relentless social pressure to which they have to conform. Their behaviour and ways of thinking were merely reflexes of social impulses, almost entirely suppressed as a result. Thinking and acting were consisting of attractions to and repulsions from the conditioning authority.

I am well aware of deficiencies in this brief analysis but the broad outlines are given in the hope they will help the pacifist in the study of himself and his fellow-men. Pacifism arises

Words of Peace—77

The ravaged garden

THAT, then, was to be our work. Alas! what work have we set ourselves upon instead! How have we ravaged the garden instead of kept it—feeding our war-horses with its flowers, and splintering its trees into spear-shafts!

"And at the East a flaming sword."

Is its flame quenchless? and are those gates that keep the way indeed passable no more? or it is not rather that we no more desire to enter? For what can we conceive of that first Eden which we might not yet win back, if we chose? It was a place full of flowers, we say. Well: the flowers are always striving to grow wherever we suffer them: and the fairer, the closer. There may, indeed, have been a Fall of Flowers, as a Fall of Man; but assuredly creatures such as we are can now fancy nothing lovelier than roses and lilies, which would grow for us side by side, leaf overlapping leaf, till the Earth was white and red with them, if we cared to have it so. . . . But Paradise was a place of peace, we say, and all the animals were gentle servants to us. Well: the world would yet be a place of peace if we were all peacemakers, and gentle service should we have if we gave them gentle mastery. But so long as we make sport of slaying bird and beast, so long as we choose to contend rather with our fellows than with our faults, and make battlefield of our meadows instead of pasture—so long, truly, the Flaming Sword will still turn every way, and the gates of Eden remain barred close enough, till we have sheathed the sharper flame of our own passions, and broken down the closer gates of our own hearts.

JOHN RUSKIN.

IGNORANCE IS NOT BLISS . . .

"What we don't know is likely to hurt us." Such was the conclusion this week of Gallup pollsters whose constant questioning of US citizens about public affairs has unearthed surprising "areas of ignorance." Some of them:

27,000,000 US adults do not know that the Japs have taken the Philippines.

54,000,000 have never heard of the Atlantic Charter.

85,000,000 do not know what a reciprocal trade treaty is.

More than half the adult population does not know that the US never belonged to the League of Nations.

"Time," May 22, 1944.

out of a concept of ultimate values, out of the reality of the person, and consequently out of the values of spirit, freedom, creativeness. We now see why the social creature, the mass man, who thinks as society has taught him to think, is unable to comprehend the pacifist philosophy through the use of his reason or his emotions. The pacifist cannot appeal to either the reason or the emotion of the mass-mentality because that is asking the mass-mentality to commit suicide, for society to annihilate itself. The point can better be put in another way. The pacifist bases his appeal on certain values and the hope that the necessity of these values can be seen. But to the mass-man these values simply do not exist. The values of this civilisation alone are real. Those values are based on nationalism, tradition, and objective authority. They are the parents of the so-called average man. Without them he also ceases to exist.

This of course is the explanation of the limited appeal of the personalist, the pacifist philosophy. It is not unreasonable but it is dealing with a different kind of reason. And if we assume these facts to be true our own approach to the pacifist way of life must alter accordingly. It will not be sufficient to appeal to reason and the emotions because we shall either be preaching to those who are already converted or those who are congenitally incapable of following our argument and whose emotions are not the same as ours.

The conclusion which I now must draw from my analysis is that the problem of pacifism is the problem of creation and creation alone. Those who would be pacifists will be drawn to us without propaganda. Those others will be shown who care to be shown. But our task is quite clear. It involves the transformation of our society from within and the only possible method is that of gradually creating an entirely new framework based on the pacifist ethic which will grow up within the old but independent of it. Our need now, as pioneers, is to discuss and create, through communities and families and groups, the nucleus of new society, self-supporting where possible but as closely allied to others as necessity permits. Propaganda will follow from the act of creation but never again must we rely solely on the intellectual or emotional approach. Unless we can show clearly that we can create a way of life which in itself is better than the old we shall have failed, if not as a philosophy, then most certainly as a practical movement. We shall have no historical significance except on paper.

A. K. JAMESON
reviews recent party
history and claims

a step in the right direction

AS a member of Common Wealth almost from its beginning I have been asked to give my own view of its present position and the direction in which it appears to be tending. I emphasize that it is my personal view, that of an ordinary member of a small country branch, and I do not know how far it is shared by other members.

Common Wealth came into existence in July, 1942, as an amalgamation of two groups, neither of which was a political party, but each was independently trying to educate public opinion to a new outlook on political, economic, and social problems. For some months the new body continued on the same lines, preaching the doctrine of common ownership but laying the chief stress, not on the material advantages of a socialist economy, but on the moral evil of founding society on the doctrines of self-interest and ruthless competition. What is required, they said, is a complete reversal of attitude and the adoption of the doctrines of co-operation and social service; the individual must think, not what he can get out of the system, but what he can give to it.

At the first annual conference held at Easter, 1943, the membership was given as about 7,000, and it was decided that Common Wealth should come out definitely as a political party. The main reasons for this decision were two. Firstly, that the electoral truce had resulted in a state of complete political frustration and that the lead in breaking it ought to be assumed by a definite party, and secondly, that there was a large section of society which was inclined to the Left but for one reason or another did not wish to join any of the existing Left parties.

This section is to be found mostly in the middle class and among the technicians and managers of industry and it was recognized that, unless it can be induced to support socialist principles, there is grave danger of the class war taking the form of violent revolution. It is a fundamental principle of Common Wealth that violence is to be avoided at all costs in making the change over to the new order and that, if the situation is properly handled, violence will not be necessary.

It emphasized that it is not a rival to existing Left parties but an agent for co-operation among them, lending it support at bye-elections to any candidate holding definitely Left views who is willing to oppose the automatic return of a Conservative. Only where no such candidate is forthcoming has it put forward its own.

To produce concrete results within a reasonable period of time an organization is necessary, but the eternal problem which confronts all movements based on new doctrines is how to hold the balance between day-to-day organizational work and the elaboration of prin-

COMMON WEALTH

ciple, its application to the given conditions and the getting of the message across to the public. If Common Wealth is to succeed it must solve that problem.

Its basic principles are excellent, being, in fact, the application to modern social conditions of the Christian doctrine of brotherhood and service, and its immediate task must be so to combine its two spheres of activity as to prevent itself becoming a mere political machine, to assert its principles boldly and effectively and to get them accepted by the public at large.

From the point of view of the pacifist it is a mark in its favour that Common Wealth repudiates force in making social changes within this country. But it has never really faced the problem of force applied by this country to others; it plans for a post-war world and while, as it were, passing a formal resolution in support of the war, it puts it into the background and tries to forget about it. It must surely recognize that the possibility of building a new society will depend on the state of the world at the end of the war and that that will be conditioned by the conduct of the war.

If the demand for unconditional surrender, thus forcing the Germans to fight to the last ditch, is persisted in and is accompanied by wholesale destruction of cities from the air, Europe, including this country, will be in such a state of physical and mental exhaustion at the end of the war that reconstruction will be made infinitely difficult and will be unnecessarily delayed. If only in its own interests, therefore, Common Wealth ought to agitate for the abandonment of the bombing and the formulation of peace terms which will secure to Germany a constructive place in a federated Europe. Such action will also be a protest against the progressive deterioration of moral standards, the descent to precisely those methods which were condemned when they were employed by the Germans.

That many members do recognize this is shown by the fact that at the 1944 annual conference a resolution calling for such action received much support; for technical reasons no vote was taken on the resolution, but it was evident that the majority of the delegates was in favour of it.

If Common Wealth really does stand for moral principles it must apply them in the international as well as the national sphere and it will be compelled sooner or later to realize that it is impossible to repudiate force in one sphere and sanction it in another. There is, I am convinced, a large and growing body of opinion in this country which is profoundly disturbed by the present conduct of the war and requires only a lead from some organized party to express its views openly.

Common Wealth could supply that lead, for it has members who hold these views and if they press the point in their branches and insist on the National Committee considering action on the lines indicated it may be possible to direct the movement into the right way. It will not, of course, be a completely pacifist way, but it will be a step in the right direction and as such deserving of the support of pacifists.

To a Common Wealth supporter

Dear John,

I'm sorry not to have replied to your letter before, but frankly I did not know what to say. Like you, I was glad about the Skipton and West Derbyshire by-elections. They showed there was a little healthy rebellion left in the country. But when you tell me it is my duty—and the duty of all progressives—to come inside Common Wealth, I'm forced to smile.

In the first place you're in the swim, and I'm in the wilderness. You're helping to produce aeroplanes, and I'm a conscientious objector. Your face wouldn't be red helping to canvass for Battle of Britain pilots. Mine would. It isn't that I have any objection to pilots or soldiers or sailors—on the contrary I admire their courage and devotion to duty—but in

war-time we are happier apart. There is embarrassment on both sides.

In the second place you believe in the war, and I don't. In a Common Wealth manifesto by my side I read "War is either a crime or a crusade." I can't accept statements of that description. In my opinion, for what it's worth, war is always a crime, but there never will be a war that won't be dressed up to look like a crusade.

And according to this pamphlet the Government isn't any good at dressing up the war. People are losing enthusiasm, the fighting morale of the nation is suffering. Therefore new window-dressers are needed to give the Woodrow Wilson touch. But Wilson died of a broken heart, and so will Acland and his friends unless they learn to keep their tongues in their cheeks.

The term "progressive" becomes more puzzling every day.

I suppose I am a progressive if the word means that one believes in (a) a parliament that is vested in the people; (b) complete liberty of expression; (c) all legislation that will make the poor man richer and the rich man poorer; (d) a planned economy; (e) foreign policies that will make an end of frontiers. I could assent to all Common Wealth's general propositions—life should come before property, etc. But propositions such as these are now battered clichés, which is why I defined the sort of progress I believe in. I'm weary of clichés.

Yet, although I can call myself a progressive in the general sense I have outlined, I never seem in step on immediate political issues.

A few months ago you were indignant because Mosley had been released, whereas I thought it was only proper and democratic that he should be released. No doubt you enthused with the News-Chronicle because Pucheu was sentenced to death, whereas I was sorry, for to me Vichy's virtues in saving France from the horrors of complete German occupation outweigh its crimes, and Pucheu was symbolic of Vichy.

It seems to me that the progressives in this country chase after small game. It is easy to plaster the country with anti-Mosley posters. It is easy to attack the Government whilst declaring a belief in Churchill as a war leader. But why not go after really big game? Why not go after Churchill himself?

Frankly, I think Common Wealth is scared of Churchill. He is the one man in a government of half-men. Their attitude towards him appears to be that they will use him whilst the war is on because he is a great war leader, and afterwards scrap him with the battleships. Frankly, again, such an attitude is (to me) hypocritical and dishonest. The touchstone of Common Wealth's sincerity is this full man, Churchill.

If the Government is winning the war and losing the peace, as Common Wealth asserts, Churchill is the man responsible. He has the outlook of an 18th-century aristocrat. Throughout his political career he has never been associated with major constructive legislation. He

A. E. SOUTH
in an open letter to
an enthusiast retorts

new window dressers for the war

has always stood for "the past, with its old powers and classes, its old ideas and motives" which Common Wealth wishes to end.

Common Wealth does not oppose Churchill because he is too strong. To oppose Churchill would mean the wilderness for a time. For my part I think the wilderness would do Common Wealth good. One thinks hard there.

Perhaps I have grown cynical. I have been in politics longer than you. Many organizations and parties have popped up since 1931. There was the New Party, the Independent Socialist Party, the New Britain Party, and all manner of Social Credit Parties. There was also the Socialist League, the Popular Front, the Promethean Society, and the Federated Societies. They have come and gone.

They, too, desired a new world. Their pamphlets were just as eloquent as those of Common Wealth. But they came into a world that was preparing for war, and died because of it. Against them was the argument of expediency and security. They were told "when we have enough battleships and aeroplanes we will clear the sums" just as now Churchill tells Common Wealth "we will consider the peace when we have won the war."

It's an old story, and the moral is fairly plain. When man is preparing for war or at war the pursuits and aspirations of peace become increasingly difficult. Humanity is now almost bent double with the weights and clamps of total war, and if it is ever to find its true stature, must free itself from war.

I do not suggest that Common Wealth should adopt my view that the present war is wrong. I do, however, suggest that it should recognize that war can never be a crusade, that if we are to have a decent peace it will be in spite of the war, and precisely to the extent that we make a true valuation of war; and that before this peace is achieved there must be a struggle between the common people and the vested interests that Churchill represents.

I hope I've explained my position now, John old boy. If Common Wealth did the things I ask of it I should become a member, but it never will. It's not always pleasant in the wilderness.

Yours ever,

ALICK.

THE CHRISTIAN CASE FOR DECENTRALIZATION

Towards a Free Society. By the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., President of the Union for Social Service. Lindsey Press, 6d.

THIS is a short study of the main factors involved in the problem of the industrialized state, with its latest tendency towards totalitarianism, or towards increased centralization and regimentation where a measure of democracy still exists.

It is primarily concerned with the bases of a Christian social order, in which interest it undertakes a careful examination of state socialism. It says: "In the light of war-time experience and of the growth of totalitarian systems, we can no longer accept the extension directly or indirectly of state control with the unquestioning complacency of the earlier socialists. The extension of state control over the whole field of industry makes possible a universal regimentation which is altogether inimical to the free development of human personality."

The falsity of formerly accepted socialist dogmas is exposed. The conclusion reached is that our hope probably lies in functional and regional decentralization, the state to become, in the words of Dr. Temple, "the community of communities."

W.W.

ROY WALKER

GANDHI'S PACIFISM and ours

violence is given by Horace Alexander in Gandhi's own words:

"If the whole of India responded and unanimously offered it (non-violent non-cooperation) I should show that, without shedding a single drop of blood, Japanese arms or any combination of arms can be sterilised. That involves the determination of India not to give any quarter on any point whatsoever and to be ready to risk loss of several million lives."

East and West

I think it is waste of time to suggest that, in this matter East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet. That the sort of action Gandhi demands may be possible in the West is foreshadowed by another of Alexander's remarks:

"Some of us in 1940 began to face the possibility of coming under Nazi tyranny. How could we live (or if necessary die) under that tyranny without violent resistance to it, but without submission and acquiescence? The Christian people of subject Europe are today heroically exploring this perilous path. 'Do or die' is their motto; and to some of them death has come."

IN the new Penguin Special, "India Since Cripps," Horace Alexander has some interesting things to say about Mr. Gandhi's pacifism. In the course of saying them he emphasizes the difference between Gandhi's pacifism and ours. Contrary to the popular opinion it is, in this case, the East that marches into the field of action and the West that retires from the field with the intention of not even fighting another day if it can be avoided.

Unfortunately there is a species of political pacifism in the west which has caused people to assume that pacifists are political neutrals, or even perhaps pro-Axis. That is not Mr. Gandhi's pacifism. His pacifism does not mean neutrality. Gandhi has been a fighter all his life, battling against what he conceives to be evil. Neutral or indifferent he could never be in a struggle where he sees that moral principles are involved. But Gandhi, seeing the immense evils the world suffers when military force is resisted by military force, has suggested to an incredulous world that there might be some other way of resisting aggression and other forms of tyrannical force than by counter-measures of violence. "Non-violent resistance" means just what it says: resistance, but without violence. It should not be equated with non-resistance. But that is just what some Western pacifist thinkers would equate it with when they do not go to the other extreme and equate it with violence.

A current fair sample of non-

spiritual renaissance) or to stand—and fight. The non-resisters are those who withdraw, the non-violent resisters those who stand.

A Question of Balance

The distinction is not one between the cowardly and the brave, between the wise and the foolish, between the realist and the escapist. It is in the highest degree improbable that a spiritually healthy pacifist movement in any time or place can dispense with either. What we are concerned about is whether in our own case the balance is the right one. I think it is not. I think there has been an over-emphasis on withdrawal and a quite fallacious attack upon "action."

Huxley's "Grey Eminence" is the extreme case. Here is one of the most distinguished pacifist thinkers embroidering the theme that "all power corrupts." There is no mention of Gandhi, who has exercised as much power as Father Joseph without, surely, becoming noticeably corrupted in the process. When Mr. Amery equated Gandhi with Huxley's picture of Father Joseph there was not even a ripple in the pacifist press of this country.

The claim made for Mr. Gandhi's faith, which he calls Satyagraha, is not less than this. Rightly conceived and used it is the synthesis of conciliation, conversion and the unavoidable minimum of coercion implicit in "resisting without violence him that is evil." Its nature is such that it may arouse large human groups to levels of self-sacrifice and generosity as far beyond the normality of our live-and-let-live morality as the bestial excesses of war are beneath the everyday vices. It is the hope of the world.

RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is
the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send
YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

UP YOUR STREET

IT is part of the work of the Food Relief Campaign to know what is going on. I have to look through bundles of press-cuttings from local papers in all parts of the country, and also keep an eye on news-items in the national press. I found this in a local paper the other day:

"I believe British opinion is comparable with that of America. (This was confirmed in my own locality at least, where, as the result of recent visits to the 76 inhabited houses in my road, signatures were obtained from 68 of them—representing almost 90%—to a petition I was able to send to the Minister of Economic Warfare, urging the extension of the relief scheme which has been so successful in Greece.)" Many people share my own preference for an inconspicuous life during the limited hours we have at home. But if this suggestion is not precisely "up your street" there are also inhabited houses in the next street! Campaigners must always remember that only a very small proportion of the population will come to a public meeting on any subject. Please put down your Peace News—it is a fine evening for a stroll—and put those copies of the Kershner broadcast in your pocket. Try your luck at a dozen houses before you turn in tonight.

There are many different ways of helping. The Yorkshire Post recently published this item. "In a washhouse at Patterdale, at the head of Ullswater, five children, 11 and 12 years old, staged an entertainment which realised £5 for a Relief Fund. The other day I opened a letter which contained a postal order for 5s., a donation to the Campaign funds "from my family who have been saving ship halfpennies." Will you do the same? Every time you see a ship halfpenny put it aside to help to get the foodstuffs through to the hungry children in Europe.

Another letter reveals a most interesting sequel to the national two-days fast at the end of the year. It is also—I'm sorry but I can't keep my ideas in separate departments!—a very fine example of non-violence as Gandhi would interpret it. A group of campaigners have imposed upon themselves a weekly self-denial. A schedule of the total number of meals given up each month is sent to the local M.P.—who has been invited to join in the observance. No publicity of any kind has been given to the action, and it has been reported to me only because other groups may wish to adopt similar means of impressing their Member with the depth of local concern at the Government's starvation policy. I cannot imagine anything more likely to move the conscience of a man than such unobtrusive but quietly persistent pleading, supported—I do not doubt—by frequent reasoned statements of the case for extending controlled relief and information about the growing support for the Kershner Plan.

In spontaneous actions of this kind I find an answer to those pessimistic pacifists who shake their heads over any intervention in "politics." If pacifism is a living faith, the pacifist contribution to any political controversy will be a characteristic one, a contribution which no other section of the community would think of making. That we have such a contribution is, I believe, the only and the sufficient justification for the existence through total war of a Peace Pledge Union.

ROY WALKER.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Hackney: now Len Kottnitz, 13 Charnock Rd., E.5.
Ilford: now Mrs. Barbara Roads at same address.

Romford: now Mrs. Gladys Meyer, 168 Northumberland Ave., Romford.
Add Pontefract and District (Yorks): John Muschamp, Went View, Low Ackworth, nr. Pontefract, Yorks.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES to be let or sold in N.W. London and districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11 (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

UNFURNISHED FLAT or small house urgently wanted by quiet young married couple. Box 469.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and E. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

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WEEK-END CARAVAN site wanted near Redhill, Horley, Surrey. Offers, 15 Monmouth Close, Welwyn, Kent.

YOUNG OBJECTOR recuperating requires accommodation (quiet), sea, country, town; 1, 3, 6 months, possible permanency. Willing assist in house. Terms must be moderate. Box 470.

SUMPTUOUS CARAVAN free few weeks July. Plum prospect in orchard good. Box 471.

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FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale in behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

ALLYSON—After 5,000 years way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allyson healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert in this issue.

TYPEWRITERS: bought, sold, repaired; special terms to pacifists. Cook, The Mount, Oak Hill, Romford, Essex.

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News, Hardman and Sons, 75 Prospect Place, Preston.

FOR SALE: strong onion plants, 3s. per 100. Also outdoor tomato plants, 3s. 6d. per doz. Carriage paid. Matthews, Penlan, Penrynheol, Gorseion, Swansea.

WANTED STEEL-FRAMED rucksack, 15in.-17in. preferred. 79 High St., Little Lever, nr. Bolton, Lancs.

FRESH FRUIT for bottling required by two pacifist families. Ray, 35 Greenstead Gdns., Woodford Green, Essex.

RE-USE ENVELOPES—with Peace News economy labels, 1s. for 100, 8s. for 1,000. Order from your local distributor or direct from PN Office.

Post-war problems have no pacifist solution

says CHAS. F. TITFORD

AT the open meeting following the PPU annual general meeting, Canon Raven expressed a belief that after the war the public may turn to the pacifist movement for a solution of its problems; and he expressed a doubt whether we should be ready with an answer.

But what sort of answer has Canon Raven in mind? Does he mean a political programme, a scheme of reforms which the public can "support" by electing pacifists to Parliament to put the programme into operation?

I submit that whatever contributions pacifists may have to make to the solution of the country's problems—or the world's—there is not the slightest ground for believing that, because a person is a pacifist, he has any greater capacity for solving economic or political problems than his non-pacifist neighbours.

Let the pacifist take a sheet of paper and write out first a list of some of the post-war problems that will call for solution; then, against each, let him write out the solution he proposes. When he has done so, he will find that each and every one of them is the proclaimed solution of one or other of our contemporary non-pacifist political bodies.

There is no such thing as a pacifist solution, as such, to any of these problems, and any programme any pacifist might draw up would be no more than a selection from, or variation upon, the political programmes of other existing political parties or bodies. Such a selection may be good or bad, wise or unwise, practical or impractical; but it will not be pacifist; it will only be a selection made by a pacifist. And the sooner and more clearly we recognize that fact, the better, if we are to avert the imminent danger of our movement

being split up into numerous factions each making its own selection and proclaiming it as the one and only pacifist one.

DURING the war, we have been agreed that the pacifist solution for the settlement of the international problem is peace by negotiation. We have not attempted—and rightly so—to say what the result of the negotiating should be; what should be the boundary line between Russia and Poland, whether there should be any indemnities, whether Germany should remain one Reich or be split up again into numerous little kingdoms, and so on.

As individuals, we may have our own views on each of these subjects, and there may be (I do not know that there is) a general consensus of opinion among us on many such points. But these are based on grounds quite apart from those on which we base our plea for peace by negotiation. It is the "by negotiation" instead of by force—that constitutes the pacifist recommendation and policy.

When the guns cease to fire and we turn to that "war with other weapons" that men call peace, why should we shift our ground and look for some other? What, I repeat, are our qualifications for judging better than our non-pacifist neighbours what are the right and best solutions for the many economic and political problems with which we shall be confronted? None whatsoever!

Solution-by-negotiation is the "peace"-time equivalent of peace-by-negotiation. Let all who have any contribution to make to the solution of any of our many and complicated problems, make it—in negotiation with others similarly equipped. By negotiation, not by political and economic warfare, biased propaganda, party tactics, strikes, lock-outs, slanging-matches, recriminations, animosity and all the other weapons of the "party game" for power. "I renounce war, and I will never support or sanction another." Peace in the political and economic spheres, as much as in the international, can only be secured by arriving at a mutually agreed solution through negotiation.

Of the two available means of arriving at a solution of our problems, which is the pacifist one—by the victory of one party or party programme over all its enemies, or by negotiation?

BUT how, it may be asked, are we going to get the political parties to agree to negotiate? What is the use of demanding negotiation?

My answer to the last question is, no use at all; and to the first, if I have no answer, neither has the pacifist movement; because, apparently, it has hardly yet begun to realize, let alone think about, this its own particular problem.

That is why I agree with that part of Canon Raven's remarks when he expressed a doubt whether we should be ready with a reply if and when the public turns to the pacifist movement and asks, "What do you propose?" It looks as though we shall have dozens of answers—none of them pacifist!

FINED ONE PINT

A new line in penalties for American COs is reported by Time. A Los Angeles Jehovah Witness, Kenneth M. Springer, "was haled into court for draft-dodging, fined 1,000 dols. and a pint of blood (for the Red Cross)."

NEUTRALITY

Little Sweden, with a population of 6,240,000, has given \$253,000,000 since the beginning of the war to war victims in Finland, Norway, Holland, France, Greece and Belgium, according to a report gathered by the Women's International League.

A poll of public opinion in Sweden has shown that the population is overwhelmingly willing to undergo even stricter rationing of food if assured that the food saved will be used for relief of suffering peoples.

—Worldover Press.

A "PEACE" BALLET

- by request

UNDER the above heading the Daily Express of Jun. 9 reported the London première of the Ballets Jooss production, "The Green Table." The critics described it as "a bitter satire on peace conferences" which "showed 10 old men in masks and frock coats howling each other down. Then mothers and wives of soldiers, and soldiers themselves, appeared in a series of war sequences. The ballet was included 'By request.' Some people thought it in bad taste.

The Daily Telegraph critic, however, noted that "the mime has lost none of its sting and was enthusiastically applauded."

"The Green Table," by Kurt Jooss, was first produced in this country by the director and his company of dancers from Essen. Jooss and one other member of the original company are dancing in the present production. In "Ballet" Arnold Haskell writes of it: "I include one ballet outside the Russian tradition because it is a work of outstanding merit, of continued topical interest that has been applauded throughout the whole civilized world, the fascist countries excluded. . . . 'The Green Table' is a powerful indictment of the failure of the League of Nations. The curtain rises on an international conference, the senile senators talk, quarrel, shots are exchanged, and then we are shown what happens when Death is let loose. The curtain falls on a repetition of the first act, platitudes, arguments, and shots."

EX-AIRMAN BECAME C.O.

When John G. Jenkins of Romford was prosecuted at Tower Bridge police court on Jun. 7 for refusing fire-guard duties at business premises, he admitted the facts but pleaded "Not guilty," claiming that he had "reasonable cause" for refusing duty, this being a complete defence under the Fire-Guard Orders.

John Jenkins, who had served in the RAF in the last war, became a convinced pacifist and objected to fireguard duties as he believed they were connected with the prosecution of the war. The magistrate, Mr. Arthur Morley, adjourned the case for a week to see if John Jenkins could see his way to undertake voluntary fire-guard duties at the business premises concerned.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

UP TO 5 ACRES of land wanted. Southern Counties preferred. Woodland considered. 18 Nightingale Rd., Hanwell, W.7.

LITERATURE, etc.

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems. No. I on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. II "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield, M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde., Harrogate.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

CHRIST, THE Communist, is the new pamphlet issued by the Kingdom Movement. Post free together with previous literature 6d. from Secretary, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.
3d. BRINGS YOU, post free, two 8-pp. pamphlets: "Prison Reform: Objections Answered," by Murry, Brittain, Housman, Mannin, etc.; and "Prisoner's Medical Charter," which explains the aims of Prison Medical Reform Council, 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent. Also obtainable from P.P.U. Bookshop.

MEETINGS, etc.

THE IMPORTANCE of a Negotiated Peace is the title of a Lunch Hour Address by Rhys J. Davies at Friends' House, Euston Road, N.W.1, on Tuesday, June 20, at 1.20 p.m.

BOURNEMOUTH Post-War Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Jun. 23, 7.30 p.m. "Medical reform," Dr. R. A. Lyster.

CONCERT IN aid of Hungerford Club Welfare Centre. Charing Cross will be held at Friends' House, Euston Rd., Wed., Jun. 21, 7 p.m. Peter Pears, Benjamin Britten, Zorian String Quartet, Morley College Choir. Conductor: Michael Tippett. Tickets 5s. and 2s. 6d. from Musical Culture Ltd., 53 Welbeck St., W.1, and A.P.F., 1 Adelaide St., W.C.2.

SCARBOROUGH. East Yorkshire Regional Meeting, Saturday, June 24, 3 p.m., Labour Party Rooms, Roscoe Street. Speaker, John Barclay. All welcome.

NORTHAMPTON I.L.P. John McNair: "Only Socialism Will Ensure Peace." June 20, 7.30 p.m., Manchester Unity Hall, Newland.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, 5c., PN 9 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

WILL ALL pacifist teachers an out-club workers help P.P.U. Youth Committee by sending addresses to Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1?

JOIN VICTORY Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

PACIFISTS, vegetarian market gardeners, need small loan to purchase equipment. Ample security Box 466.

BUSINESS WOMAN, 30, would like to hear from Londoners with cosmopolitan and intellectual outlook for occasional discussions, etc. Box 470

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

BURGESS HILL school require gardener-handyman (fruit, vegetable, chicken, bees; carpentry useful). Former applicants invited to communicate. Secretary, Redhurst, Cranleigh Surrey.

WANTED. FULL-TIME Heavy Rescue worker. Ideal conditions. London suburb south of the Thames Box 473.

LLANTHONY BROTHERS, inter-denominational religious community, require two men, one for land work, other to help in house, plain cooking and assist occasionally in youth hostel. Interest in church music advantage not essential. No cranks, no crooks wanted. Simple rule. Fr. David, Llanthony Brothers, Capel y Ffin, Abergavenny, Mon.

LONDON pacifist-run boarding-house requires assistance (female), temporary or permanent. Box 474.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

STRONG MAN, 30, wants work. Arable farm; live in. Box 467.

MINISTER desires renounce status (religious grounds), seeks job congenial to trained mind and rich experience. Sec., Journalism, book shop, country inn (canteen 4 years). Box 468.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London), Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8985.

NATURE-CURE TREATMENT of disease (including eyes). Reginald J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath, 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. (Ex-Maidstone C.O.) Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7468.

D. H. LAWRENCE. A society is being formed to study the meaning of this great spiritual adventurer. Fla. 7016.

Are you a regular reader of Peace News? If not, write to 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, and we will arrange for you to be supplied every week.

ADVERTISEMENTS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY CASH WILL NOT BE INSERTED—SEE OUR TERMS

Can de Gaulle speak for France?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Popular Front in February, 1934, was a desperate effort to reassert democracy. It failed primarily because the Conservative Government in Britain frowned upon it. Its support went to the anti-democratic forces in France.

There is no evidence that de Gaulle intends to challenge and to overthrow the anti-democratic forces in France—the financial and industrial cliques. Unless that is done, the judgment made in a very interesting pamphlet by a Frenchman who signs himself "Gabriel" (published by the ILP, 3d.) will hold: "Any resistance movement which is not revolutionary simply duplicates Vichy."

Allie's dilemma

THE argument now being used for the recognition of the French National Committee as the French Government is that the only practical alternative is a British-American military government. Because it must inevitably blunder, inflict hardship and incur unpopularity, it is much better to put the responsibility on French shoulders.

"If there must be ruin and slaughter," says Mr. Brailsford (Reynolds, Jun. 11), "let us at least make sure we have French consent." If USA and Britain carry the responsibility, says the Daily Mail (Jun. 10), "The French might even consider that the rule of the German military authorities, whose conduct has always been 'very correct,' was not so bad as the one it was succeeded by."

That is candid. But recognition of the National Committee means imposing de Gaulle on France by British and American military power. The fact (systematically obscured) is that there is no real evidence that a majority of Frenchmen do or will regard the National Committee as their legitimate government. Britain and USA would not avoid responsibility by thrusting it upon de Gaulle. They would only incur more of it.

A practical test

A CORRESPONDENT of the Daily Mail (Jun. 10) confesses that "there has not been time yet to get more than guarded opinions on the question of de Gaulle and Pétain." That is queer, if de Gaulle were what he is represented to be: the universally acknowledged saviour of France. "However, one veteran of the French Colonial service and of the First Great War, during which he was a prisoner, was unquestionably pro-Pétain, though he did not say it in so many words. For practical purposes he had no reason to be otherwise, because until last week he was receiving regularly pension payments. They permitted him to live in modest comfort in a little stone cottage surrounded by a vegetable and flower garden. A friendly old pensioner, too rheumatic for any work heavier than pottering about in his garden, he was well cared for by his white-haired wife who keeps the cottage as neat as a pin."

That rather lets the cat out of the bag. Here is a humble, admirable, and typical citizen of France. He is a Pétainist. And will de Gaulle, or the British-Americans, continue to pay his pension? If not, he will become anti-all of them.

Unsavory methods

A SIDELIGHT on the ambiguous nature of Gaullism is supplied by the following description of an officer of whom one hears from time to time as the head of a bureau in London which keeps in touch with the French underground movement and performs other functions.

"Still in charge is a youthful, blue-eyed officer, of excellent family and connections, who learned his trade in military intelligence. His true name is never given, but every Frenchman in London knows of 'Colonel Passy'. He trails a faint odour of Cagoulard—the Royalist-Fascist secret society of unsavory name in the latter days of the Third Republic. Ugly stories circulate (and are denied) of Passy's

THE FUTURE OF PACIFISM

Two conferences dealing with important aspects of pacifism will be held during the week-end of June 24-25. At Wheistone, Somerset Rd., Birmingham, members from East and West Midlands Areas of the PPU will be discussing "Individual pacifism and unity"; and at Spiceland, in Devon, the Devon and Cornwall and Western Areas will hold a conference on the broader issues of "Pacifism in society."

At the latter conference, Howard Whitten and Joe Brayshaw will be the principal speakers, while Constance Braithwaite and Bert Taverner will be among those giving introductory talks at Birmingham.

In each case there is a general invitation to PPU members to attend. Full particulars may be obtained from Henry Hilditch, The Grange, Wythall, Birmingham, and Alan Myster, Lansbury, Newton Poppleford, Sidmouth, Devon.

use of the third degree to intimidate those Frenchmen who choose to fight the Germans but not to join de Gaulle. Some also say that he makes it his business to block all underground communication except with proved de Gaulleists. But even his enemies concede that he is a skilful operator, trusted by the British and unutterably loyal to his Chief." (Time, May 29.)

That is not very reassuring.

Poles trapped

M. MIKOLAJCZYK, the Polish Premier, has gone to Washington to talk with President Roosevelt. In an interview given to the Manchester Guardian (Jun. 2) he makes it plain that the Poles intend to accept the Greek gift of East Prussia and Silesia. Thus the Poles have deprived themselves of any moral basis for their objection to the Russian demand for the surrender of considerable Polish territory in the East.

They demand the annexation of East Prussia and Silesia "for security"; Russia demands the annexation of Polish territory for the same reason. The Poles will have to put up with it. Those who abandon moral principles themselves can hope for no sympathy when they appeal to them.

"Law and order"

RECENTLY I picked up an old issue of Horizon, belonging to 1940, No. 6, I think. It contained an admirable story of legal chicane in India, obviously based on intimate knowledge—venal solicitors, venal witnesses, and venal judges. The next day I chanced on a review by Mr. Edward Thompson in The Observer of a book, "Strangers in India," by a recently retired Indian Civil Servant, Mr. Penderel Moon.

"Mr. Moon from knowledge stresses the infinite harm done by the introduction of our legal system, against the prayers of all who knew the country, beginning with Warren Hastings. Its result has been the vast vested interest of the lawyers, and the universal belief that lying is right and according to the rules of the game. Few British who have worked in India would question Mr. Moon's conviction that innocent men are constantly sent to jail and often hanged."

NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATION?

AT least 33 men and women Doukhobors are in jail (reports Time, May 1 and 22) after an unusual anti-conscription demonstration in Stanley Park, Vancouver, B.C. Twelve members of the sect assembled in the Park, "stripped to the buff, knelt and howled." Each was sentenced to two years in jail. Others followed later.

The Conscientious Objector, of New York, reported in its April issue that one of the parades took place in a temperature of 18 below zero.

According to Time, "most of Canada's 17,000 industrious, abstemious 'Douks' have accepted pacifist alternatives to national service; only the obstreperous sect-within-a-sect called Sons of Freedom balked. In Court, the Czar of Heaven (their leader) disdained to take the oath, and said that he would sooner kiss the magistrate than kiss the Bible." He was fined 500, but "promptly paraded again, this time garbed only in his crown. 'Let my brothers out of jail!' he shouted." He also was sentenced to two years. But on Tuesday the Daily Mail reported that he had been found dead in his prison cell, having hanged himself with his shoelaces. Time recalls that the "first authenticated North American instance of public disobeying to make a point" was by Boston Quakers, circa 1660. The Doukhobors emigrated from Czarist Russia after suffering persecution for their boycott of war.

DISCHARGED FROM H.G.

Raymond J. Rouse of Islington volunteered for the Home Guard in July, 1941. Subsequently he developed a conscientious objection and was registered as a CO for non-combatant duties. This meant that he could not have been compulsorily directed to the Home Guard, but according to the Home Guard regulations his registration did not entitle him to be discharged.

Raymond Rouse refused to attend for duty and was prosecuted at Clerkenwell police court on May 9. On each of two summonses he was fined 20s.

The Central Board for COs then took up the matter with the War Office, pressing for this CO's discharge, and it has now been learnt that Raymond Rouse has been discharged from the Home Guard.

P.N. SELLERS WANTED

Volunteers are still required for selling Peace News at Hyde Park on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings. Theydon Bois PPU group has undertaken the task for the first Sunday in each quarter and suggests that if twelve groups would follow its example the London Area Organizer would have no further trouble in disposing of his PN supplies. Volunteers should communicate with the Organizer, Jack Gibson, at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. (Phone: EUS. 4637.)

FOOD - RELIEF DEMAND GOES ON

— despite invasion

LATEST news from both sides of the Atlantic shows that, despite the attack on Normandy, those who are pressing for the extension of food relief to the hungry children and mothers in the occupied countries of Northern and Western Europe are maintaining their demand.

U.S.A.

Clare Luce gave further support to Dr. Howard Kershner's Plan in a broadcast from Washington, where Mr. Dingle Foot is discussing blockade policy with State Department officials. "There are 9,500,000 starving children in Europe, she said (Star, June 3), "Belgians, French, Dutch, Norwegians, and Poles—who could be saved if 51,000 tons of food were sent each month."

England

In London on June 11—i.e., five days after "D" day—the National Council of the Independent Labour Party passed a resolution calling for the adoption of a relief plan, with particular reference to the Kershner Plan. "We urge the Government, even in the midst of present military activities, to authorize this gesture of international good will," the resolution concluded.

An interesting article in Time and Tide (Jun. 3) shows that expert opinion, too, is now ready to recognize the great importance of the type of relief advocated by Dr. Kershner.

"The complexity of the many tasks of reconstruction awaiting us in Europe after the war has become a commonplace," the writer declares. "Behind them all and conditioning them all are the problems of nutrition and disease." He quoted Dr. Izod Bennett who, in a discussion at the Royal Society of Medicine earlier this year, said that starvation had been going on for years in many European countries. People in those countries were now getting only 1,000 to 1,100 calories a day—if as much. "It is calories," Dr. Bennett insisted, "that Europe needs, and not vitamins. Malnutrition across the Channel is now chronic not acute." The article mildly snubs Mr. Dingle Foot for saying that there is nothing that can be called starvation in most of these countries. The medical man alone, says the writer, is competent to judge.

Scotland

The Church of Scotland Assembly passed a resolution on May 29 regretting that the Government had not responded to its appeal in 1943.

"They deplore this decision in the conviction that the measures proposed find justification not only in the relief which they would afford in the present, but in the contribution they would make to peace and stability in the future, and instruct the Committee to make further representations to the Government."

NEGOTIATED PEACE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES IN MANCHESTER

Since Henry Hilditch's very successful meeting on May 10, speakers on Manchester's Negotiated Peace Platform at Platt Fields Park have continued to press for an early settlement. On May 31 Lionel Cowan secured general support from the crowd of 150 to 200 by asking his hearers what their attitude to "Unconditional Surrender" would be if Britain were in Germany's place and it was demanded of them. Although many questions were asked few were of a hostile character. George Williams, Secretary of the Manchester Independent Socialist Party, was in the chair. George Gibb, Chairman of Manchester PPU, spoke on May 17, and further meetings are to be held during June, on Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m.

Manchester Campaigners were encouraged during last week by the publication in the Manchester Guardian and the News Chronicle of the resolution "urging that the Government should now make every effort to ascertain the basis of a negotiated settlement" which was passed at their A.G.M.

DEATH OF A FLEETWOOD PACIFIST

Alfred L. Schofield, of Fleetwood, a lifelong pacifist, and a member of the PPU, died recently after an illness of many months patiently borne. He obtained his B.Sc. degree at Manchester University, and went to Fleetwood as a school teacher in 1903.

When conscription was introduced in the last war, he refused the exemption which his profession carried and, though the tribunal granted him exemption on condition that he remained at his profession, the local school managers dismissed him from his post. After working in a goods warehouse, he became principal of Schofield Bros., wholesale fish merchants.

Mr. Schofield was a local councillor, Chairman for many years of the Co-op Society Educational Committee, the Corporation Library Committee, and for some years a member of the Higher and Local Elementary Education Committees.

ARTHUR L. FRITH

ROME

A baseless claim?

"Amgot's problem is likely to be less difficult than expected. The three main preoccupations for the immediate future, are reconstruction of the public services, assurance of food supplies and the policing of the city. The fact that the Germans, for reasons best known to themselves, did not carry out large delaying demolitions, simplifies all these problems."

—Times Correspondent, June 6.

"Thanks be to God that Rome has been spared the horrors of war by both belligerents."

—The Pope, June 6.

"The enemy is making great parade of his magnanimity in evacuating the city in order to spare it the ravages of war. The claim is baseless and impudent."

—Times leader, June 6.

"MANY WISH FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE"

The following letter appeared in the Sunday Express on Jun. 11:

"WHO gives you the right to answer the Pope's appeal for a negotiated peace—that we will never have?"

"Are you answering for the wives and mothers of the fighting men? Many I know wish a negotiated peace, and it should be so."

"I know what sorrow awaits these wives and mothers, as my daughter's husband is missing from one of these murderous raids on Germany. Left with two babies, her grief was unbelievable, each day hoping to hear he was taken prisoner, and at night sitting on my bed never speaking, just looking at the sky."

"In the midst of her grief her allowance was cut."

"Why not help fight for the children who are left instead of always shouting: 'Kill Germans wherever they are'?"

Esther Holmes.

"38 Woodville Gdns., Ilford."

Out tomorrow.

4d.

Catalogue of Conscience

(the story of George Elphick)

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